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ABSTRACT

This paper explores the historical formation of the teaching profession in Scandinavia in the 19th and 20th centuries, with special reference to developments in Finland. It focuses on the process by which mass education has assigned teachers a crucial role in the initiation ceremonies characteristic of modern society in relation to changing models of citizenship. It examines: (1) the role of the state in Scandinavian society; (2) the role of education in culture; (3) the teacher as the model of the fully enfranchised citizen; (4) the role of parish clerks and schoolmasters as the antecedents of elementary school teachers; (5) the emergence of professionally-trained elementary school teachers in the mid-19th century; (6) the evolution of teacher training and selection; (7) changing models of citizenship in Finland and Scandinavia; and (8) explanations of the changing role of teachers in Scandinavia. Contains 65 references. (MDM)

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Osmo Kivinen & Risto Rinne

TEACHERS AND THE EDUCATION OF THE PEOPLE: Elementary school teachers and images of citizenship in Scandinavia during the 19th and 20th centuries

Many interpretations of the development of education have been proposed, including approaches derived from functionalist perspectives, from control theory, from status competition, and from modernization (see Meyer & Hannan 1979; Boli, Ramirez & Meyer 1985; Boli & Ramirez 1986; Thomas, Meyer, Ramirez & Boli 1987; Boli 1989).

The functionalists, pursuing the tradition of Emile Durkheim (1956; 1964) or Talcott Parsons (1964; 1967) , suggest that with the advancing division of labour, problems of societal integration become more acute. In explanations couched in terms of control theory, on the other hand, the education of the masses is seen as primarily serving the purposes of social control (see Foucault 1980; Sandin 1986). In the third model, education is studied as a field of status competition between social groups, where rival social strata and occupational groups struggle to improve their relative status and to increase their prestige and cultural capital (Weber 1985; Collins 1979; Bourdieu 1977; Bourdieu & Passeron 1977; Murphy 1986; 1988). Another important view has also been proposed by John Boli (1989: 49) in his book '*New Citizens for a New Society: The institutional origins of mass schooling in Sweden*', where he argues that "at the deepest level, mass schooling is a ritual ceremony ... schooling is the major initiation ceremony, or rite of passage, of modern society".

In this article, we intend to explore the historical formation of the teaching profession in northern Europe, and especially in Finland. In particular, our interest is focused on the process by which mass education has assigned teachers a crucial role in the initiation ceremonies characteristic of modern society, examined in relation to to the changing citizenship models prevailing at each stage of history.

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1. The Scandinavian 'Caring State'

In the Scandinavian countries (Denmark, Finland, Norway and Sweden), the role of the State has traditionally been a strong one, and the government of these countries has been controlled from the centre, with the aid of a large corps of bureaucrats. Following the continental European model, the social elite and its associated professional groups have been trained in public institutions and been employed in the service of the State. There has also been a strong belief in the importance of popular education in building the nation. Following the introduction of the universal adult franchise at the beginning of the 20th century, elementary school teachers, in particular, were assigned the task of training the upcoming generations in democratic and responsible citizenship. Consequently, special attention has been devoted in the Scandinavian countries to monitoring the recruitment, reliability and loyalty of the teaching profession.

In the Scandinavian model, heavy emphasis has been placed on the concepts of social democratic citizenship and the ideal of the egalitarian 'citizen worker' (Hernes 1988; Kivinen & Rinne 1990b; 1991; 1992)). The principles of representation and participation can be cited in countless instances, embodying what de Tocqueville called "the independent eye of civil society". The Scandinavian model relies on corporativism, a strong public sector, and a symbiosis between social movements and political parties. The State professions have been entrusted with an especially vital role and the prevailing citizenship model has been tied in with the ideology of the wellfare. (Kivinen & Rinne 1990a.)

Although Finland closely exemplifies the Scandinavian history of education, the country has also been affected by its close links with Russia. In 1809, Finland was transferred from the Swedish Crown to become an autonomous province under the Russian Tsar. In 1866, elementary schools were set up, teacher training colleges and school inspectorate having been established by Imperial decree in 1863, against the background fear of infection of the northern periphery by the radical ideas fermenting in Central

Europe. In 1917, Finland achieved independence. Legislation introducing compulsory education was passed in the early 1920s, and for the elementary school age group this had been implemented by the outbreak of the Second World War. Teacher training, however, expanded even faster than the schools themselves, and since the 1930s, it has been linked in one way or another to higher education and has enjoyed semi-professional status.

One of the ideological keynotes in the social democratic educational policies which dominated the Scandinavian countries in the post-War period was the democratization of society through education. During the 1950s, Finland moved towards a Keynesian planned economy. The schools (virtually entirely maintained by the State) became a crucial instrument in the centralized steering of the growth of human capital and the placement of labour, and teachers became responsible for welfare and careers guidance. Following the introduction of the comprehensive school in the 1970s, elementary school teachers began to be transformed into 'scientific experts', backed by the elevation of teacher training to MA level at university.

In this paper, we trace in historical documentation the shifting profile of the elementary school teaching profession in Finland over a period of 130 years, in relation to changes in the model of citizenship. The central focus is on the formation of the teacher's role. The sources we have used consist of historical written documents dating from the 1860s to the present day: legislation, committee reports, articles in the professional press, statistics on popular education, and the archives of the teacher training institutions and the State committee apparatus.[1] The approach to the investigation is historical and

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This examination of the citizenship model is largely based on a number of studies which have been carried out at RUSE (Turku University's Research Unit for the Sociology of Education), in particular on those dealing with the following topics: The Elementary Teacher as Model Citizen: Teacher expansion and mechanisms of recruitment into teaching in Finland 1851-1986, in the light of official reports (Rinne 1986); Education, Professionalization and the State: Formation of the State-trained reproduction professions in Finland (Rinne & Jauhiainen 1988); Where Do Teachers Come From?: The social background of elementary school teachers in Finland, with reference to the accumulation of cultural and social capital 1860-1987 (Rinne 1989); Development of the Educational Framework: Elementary education and State educational doctrine in Finland during the 19th and 20th centuries (Kivinen 1988); The Changing Curriculum in Finnish Compulsory Education 1916-1970: A theoretical and historical study of curricular intentions and assumptions (Rinne 1984); Citizenship Models in Finland: Images of the citizen in the educational professional press from the 1880s to the 1980s (Naumanen 1990); Changing Views on the Upbringing of Small Children in Finland 1850-1989 (Tähtinen 1992).

sociological, with the aim of seeing the formation of the teaching profession, and the image of citizenship projected by the teachers, as elements in a wider process of structural change in society, and as components in the characteristically Scandinavian welfare state project, which appears in the 1990s to have reached some kind of culmination point.

2. Culture and the Education of the People

The predominant overtones of the concept 'culture' are positive. A cultured person is the product of history. Culture is a sign of progress, and the badge of humanity, as opposed to nature, bestiality, crudeness and cruelty. A cultured person has high worth in human terms.

Education' is a means to cultivate people towards greater nobility, to heighten each individual's moral and cultural value. Systematic popular education has always been associated with philanthropic justification. Philanthropists operate from above: they extend a helping hand. From the 1860s onwards, Finnish philanthropists set about helping the uneducated Finnish peasantry by trying to steer all children into a uniform, mutually ennobling school. The pioneer of the elementary school in Finland, Uno Cygnaeus (1910: 59-60), was convinced of the importance of this project, as he writes in 1882:

> The children of the cultured classes will contribute their refined, cultured behaviour, and will receive in return natural freshness and unbroken energy ... Culture may be compared to a cone or pyramid; it is a form which cannot stand firmly on its point, but only on its wider surface. Culture has been described as a temple with many storeys; but in this temple, it is solely the upper floors which receive light, fresh air and warmth; the lower storeys are infested with mildew and rot, for they impenetrable by the conditions necessary for life, freshness and health. Yet from these disregarded, ill-furnished lower storeys, there rise polluting and unhealthy fumes, to incommode or disturb the peace and comfort of those inhabiting the upper storeys. History points seriously to the future, foretelling catastrophic convulsions, which are however, the natural consequence of the disregard of a Christian, human and moral education of the people."

In Cygnaeus' vision, the elementary school and the training of teachers were the means by which the state of the people could be improved, and the nation united, by bringing the various strata of the population together (Halila 1949a: 384). The education and civilizing of the people was to be the professional task of the teachers.

In *la longue durée* of history, however, there is another strand alongside this one. If we turn to the examination of the history of manners, for example (Elias 1976a; 1976b), of the family (Donzelot 1979), or of penal institutions, madness, and sexuality (Foucault 1979a; 1979b; 1988), the extended process of civilization is revealed as equally a history of discipline, of normatization, and of control. The history of the teacher's role, similarly, fuses that of charitable assistance with that of discipline. One of the roles of the 'liberator' of the children of the people has always been to draw the line between the normal and the abnormal.

Another viewpoint, close to this critique of culture associated with Norbert Elias and Michel Foucault, though less historical in perspective, is found in those studies which have explored the school as the scene of symbolic power and the area of cultural conflict. Pierre Bourdieu, for example (e.g. Bourdieu 1984; cf. Bourdieu & Passeron 1977), Basil Bernstein (1977; 1979; 1980), and the Hidden Curriculum school of critics (e.g. Henry 1963; Waller 1965; Jackson 1968; Broudy 1972; Snyder 1973; Lortie 1975) deliberately reject the ideologies of philanthropy and the universally benevolent State. An untarnished desire to help is inadequate to explain the full range of the teachers' behaviour, or its impact. Operating within the cultural and social structures of each period, the teacher is one component in a process by means of which socially approved citizens are socialized.

Brought into existence in conjunction with the emergence of a cash economy and wage labour, and the increased mobility of labour, the institution of the State elementary school became the vehicle for the spread of 'modern' culture. The natural, cyclic concept of time characteristic of a society based on subsistence agriculture came to be replaced by a linear perception of time consisting of regularly recurring units; value-oriented by target-oriented action; and man as a collective agent within the community

of clan and village, by autonomous individuals independent of their environment.

As the stability of traditional social hierarchies gave way to the liberalism of a free-enterprise economy, neither the homilies and catechisms of the Church, nor the proclamations of the civil authorities read from the pulpit, were adequate any longer to ensure the deference of wage labourers and their children. Wage labour depended upon a work morality: upon the internalization of clock time, upon the restraint of wild pleasures, upon industriousness, upon self-discipline. The need was for cultivated man: a law-abiding citizen and dutiful payer of taxes (cf. Elias 1978; 1982; Frykman & Löfgren 1981; Lyttkens 1985; Bourdieu 1984).[2]

What was also new in this cultural project was that fact that it was directed at the entire people. Every single member of the population was now expected to learn the behaviour and customs currently defined by the hegemonic groups as 'correct'. It was the purpose of culture gradually to render penal laws obsolete; for cultured persons are seen as capable of excluding from their behaviour incorrect kinds of action (Durkheim 1964; Foucault 1980).

3. The teacher as model of the fully enfranchised citizen

In Scandinavian conditions, the role of the elementary school teacher has been tied into forms of symbolic power in which the constant and crucial background force is the State. The elementary school teacher is authorized to address the formation of the pupils' entire identity, from the regulation of codes of dress and appearance to patterns of motivation. The correction of faults, and the indoctrination of good taste, have *ab initio* been part of the teacher's role, realized concretely in the extensive evaluation,

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"The nature aginst which culture is here constructed is nothing other than what is 'popular', 'low', 'vulgar', 'common'. This means that anyone who wants to 'succeed in life' must pay for his accession to everything which defines truly humane humans by a change of nature, a social promotion experienced as an ontological promotion, a process of 'civilization', a leap from nature to culture, from the animal to the human; but having internalized the class struggle, which is at the very heart of culture, he is condemned to shame, horror, even hatred of the old Adam, his language, his body and his tastes, and of everything by which he was bound to his roots, his family, his peers, sometimes even his mother tongue, from which he is now separated by a frontier more absolute than any taboo." (Bourdieu 1984: 251).

correction and penalization of behaviour, cleanliness and hygiene, correct language usage, handwriting, punctuality, hard work and all other outward and visible signs of refined behaviour.

In order to ensure justification for their teaching, teachers need to have status and authority. The symbols of status vary from one society to another in history, but the conditions necessary to the achievement of status remain constant. If status is lost, then the teaching will be deprived of both credibility and authority. The preservation of status requires various symbolic reinforcement mechanisms, which ultimately depend upon superior physical strength and power (cf. Bourdieu & Passeron 1977). Today the use of power in the classroom is no longer dependent upon corporal punishment, but upon the authority conferred by the teachers' official status, and (in comparison with the pupils) their superior command of language, their cultural taste, and their style.

At different historical periods, the education of the common people has been entrusted in the Scandinavian countries to various different institutions. During the 17th, 18th and 19th centuries, when education was in the hands of the established Lutheran Church, the authority of the Church to teach was beyond question, and was reinforced by an ecclesiastical disciplinary system of rewards and penalties. The teaching was originally carried out by the clergy, and later by the parish clerks. As the Church's status in society began to weaken, however, the State began to establish its own institutions for the education of children, the elementary school. No longer could the authority of the teacher be derived from ecclesiastical sources; instead, it was buttressed by increasingly strict State regulation. Although in Finland compulsory universal education was not introduced until 1921, in Denmark it dates back to 1814, and in Sweden and Norway to 1842 and 1848 respectively.

The role of the elementary school teacher, like the authority of the elementary school in general, was derived from the authority of the State: in Finland, initially the Tsar, and then from 1917 onwards, the independent Republic. A training system for teachers, the 'Seminaries' or teacher training colleges, needed to be established. Potential teacher trainees were carefully screened for suitability: this was not a post open to just anybody.

The teachers' authority was thus built equally on selection and on training.

In addition to being endowed with superior authority vis-à-vis pupils and their parents, however, teachers were also required to show respect for their own superiors. The hierarchy of authority and status was constructed bottom-up and top-down. Absolute loyalty to the authority of the State was as self-evident for the elementary school teachers as was loyalty to the Church for the clergy.

Moreover, like the clergy, elementary school teachers were expected to inculcate not only knowledge and skills, but also a total way of life. The elementary school teacher had a central role to play in transmitting and teaching the new way of life, not merely within the school, but also outside it. Contemporaries saw the elementary school teachers as torches blazing the way to a new morning, and as models of the new citizen.

The criteria for model citizens can be found, laid down in detailed precision, in the official documents governing the selection of prospective teachers. Acts of Parliament and governmental regulations listed in detail the requirements of the model citizen, and the certification of civic excellence which had to be presented, whether for admission to teacher training, or for appointment to a teaching post (Rinne 1986).

4. Teachers' antecedents: parish clerks and schoolmasters

The antecedents of the elementary school teacher in earlier Finnish history, when Finland was part of the kingdom of Sweden, can be mapped onto changes in the institutions responsible for providing education. Catechism schools taught by the parish clerk date from the 17th century, parish schools taught by schoolmasters from the 18th century, and the State system of elementary schools from the later 19th century (Cavonius 1942; Rinne 1986). It is worth mentioning that the last vestiges of elementary schooling provided by the Church did not disappear until the mid-20th century (Kivinen 1988).

Under 17th-century Lutheran canon law in Sweden, responsibility for ensuring a

Christian education lay with parents and masters. The actual teaching was provided, for the most part, by the clergy and parish clerks. The crucial educational objective was not so much learning to read and write, as learning one's place in the social hierarchy prescribed in the catechism. This was a world of patriarchal elementary schooling (Kähkönen 1982: 79), in which each person was allocated his or her proper place in the framework constituted by Church, State, and family. Systemic control was provided by confession (still obligatory, as in the medieval Church) and through the catechetical meetings held in rotation in different houses, at which the people were tested for their knowledge of Christian doctrine and guided in good behaviour. The same goal was pursued in sermons and in interrogations both public and private. Canon law laid down for this education to be enforced by sanctions of fines and public disgrace.

The models for the Swedish catechism schools were drawn from Germany and Denmark. In the course of the 17th century, the parish clerks (previously essentially domestic and farm servants to the clergy) were allocated a wider range of ancillary tasks, such as holding burials and running the parish schools (Heikkinen 1972; Kähkönen 1982).

The task of the parish clerk was to teach those indigent parishioners who had not acquired the rudiments of Christian doctrine and literacy at home. Parish clerks' teaching thus evolved to supplement the voluntary institutions of private tutors and village teachers, and was directed at those described, in the uninhibited language of the time, as 'the poor and the lazy'.

It was difficult, however, to recruit enough parish clerks themselves able to read and write; nor was teaching a prestigious form of work: those engaged in teaching the young were often those incapable of 'proper' work, whose ranks included 'cashiered soldiers', 'decrepit crofters', 'widows', 'old maids and cripples', etc., who had evidently taken up teaching more from need than vocation (Cavonius 1943: 274). The parish clerks (invariably male) were not always distinguished for their culture or learning; the prime criterion for a clerk was the ability to play an instrument and to sing (Jalkanen 1976; see also Salenius 1902).

In consequence, the Clergy Synod of 1746 formulated guidelines for the appointment of parish schoolmasters (Cavonius 1943: 145-6), with the aim of promoting Christian teaching among the poor. The appointment of a parish schoolmaster was made by the Parish Meeting, but it was the Rector of the parish, in conjunction with the diocesan authorities, who was responsible for nominating the schoolmasters and overseeing their work, while the salary was paid by the parishioners.

The parish schoolmasters, like the clerks, were all male, and in the absence of any formal qualification requirements, they were a mixed lot, including "either young men, who saw in this occupation merely a necessary and possibly distasteful stepping-stone to higher social status; or men whose careers had for one reason or another taken a turn, not for the better but for the worse. Nonetheless, in addition to these two categories there was a third, for whom the education of the young was a genuine vocation." (Halila 1949a: 61; Cavonius 1943: 275).

The post of parish schoolmaster, like that of parish clerk, could be inherited from father to son. There was little competition for these ill-paid posts, and the parishioners were often poorly qualified to select the best applicant. In institutional terms, however, an essential change was that the relationship between parishioners and schoolmaster was now based on a contract, even if in the people's eyes schoolmasters' main characteristic was "poverty, and the inability for any other work" (Halila 1949a: 64).

5. The Emergence of the Elementary School Teacher

The basic document upon the basis of which public elementary schools were established in the Grand Duchy of Finland was the Gracious Decree issued by the Tsar in 1858. This was followed by the Elementary Schools Decree of 1866, under which the schools and the Church were separated, although the Church continued to exercise extensive rights of inspection in regard to Religious Education, and the right to organize peripatetic elementary teaching. The 1860s also saw the establishment of the National Board of Education and of the first Teacher Training Seminary, and the appointment of the first Inspector of Schools.

A number of new developments closely coinciding in time - the revision of the Poor Law for the relief of the landless agricultural population, the consolidation of the temperance, labour, and other popular movements, and the shaping of the elementary school - are evidence of the increasing attention being paid at the time to the problems arising from the spread of wage labour, on the one hand, and indigence and vagrancy on the other. Increasing support was found among the educated classes for 'developing the potential of the common people', since it was feared that otherwise they would subside into drunkenness and brutality, filling the prisons to the point where "the free-moving portion of the population could no longer bear the costs occasioned by the derelicts taken into custody. Moreover, the people might even adopt a stance of outright hostility toward the cultured class" (Hyötyniemi 1942: 145).

From the common people's perspective, on the other hand, the elementary school was long seen as an unproductive investment of money and energy; moreover, it threatened to alienate the children (whose labour in agriculture was essential) away from working on the land. What the people saw, in the education and culture offered by the elementary school in the name of civilization, was a disastrous dandyism. For the common people, education or culture were associated with membership of the upper classes, and they feared that schooling would wean their children away from that intimate bond with nature which had characterized the farming population over the centuries, and thus destroy the country. The teaching of the elementary schools was mocked as idle triviality, pedantry, and godless radicalism (see Halila 1949b: 45).

On a voluntary basis, therefore, elementary schooling in Finland spread painfully slowly. The School Districts Decree of 1898 dismally failed in its aim of achieving universal school attendance. In 1901, the proportion of rural children of school age attending elementary schools was 42 %; and although by 1920 it had reached 76 % (Takala 1983: 118), the proportion of children aged 7-8 attending the lower elementary schools was no more than 15 % (Melin 1980: 273). Despite the introduction of compulsory education legislation in 1921, in practice it was not until the 1940s that all the children even in outlying areas were attending school (Kivinen 1988). By the 1880s, the numbers of elementary school teachers had reached a thousand, and by the turn of

the 20th century around 3000. Gradually, however, the schools began to be taken for granted as a pillar of society as familiar as the Church had been (see Kivinen & Rinne 1985).

Both in the countryside and in the towns, the elementary school teachers formed a new kind of social stratum. Because of their poor financial position, the teachers could not be associated with the rising bourgeoisie of the towns, nor with the land-owning and tenant farmers in the country; with the aristocracy and haute bourgeoisie they had nothing in common. The elementary school teachers inherited their social status from the parish clerks and schoolmasters of an earlier age; they constituted á new intermediate stratum in the community, their role as State employees bringing them close to the Estate of the Clergy, to which, however, the clergy refused to admit them.

In the countryside, as the grip of the Church and the clergy began to weaken, the elementary school teachers acquired a leading role not only within the school, but more widely within the village community. Nonetheless, the elementary school teachers never achieved a status in the social hierarchy comparable with that traditionally enjoyed by the clergy. For a long time, it was possible to enter the Teacher Training Seminaries with no more than an elementary school education; consequently, many elementary school teachers were recruited from among the common people, which would have been inconceivable in the case of the clergy. Not until decades later, at the time of the Second World War, did the elementary school teachers finally escape from the inheritance of the parish clerks and schoolmasters, as with the entire age group participating in public education, the 'poor school' teachers gradually became the teachers of the whole population.

Prior to the introduction of universal adult suffrage in 1905, elementary school teachers in the countryside had no vote, and thus had the same civil rights as the rural poor, that extensive landless population for whom there was no role in the political life of the time.

In the towns, on the other hand, teachers did have the franchise, being classified as

petty bourgeois, a fact which further cemented their alliance with the bourgeoisie. The social status of the bourgeois, on the other hand, was built upon commerce and artisan skills, with which the teachers had little real link. The cultural capital which the teachers did possess was also likely to be overshadowed by the hegemony of the other educated classes. The role of the elementary school teachers in the towns was specifically to be in charge of elementary education, and they shared the same status in the social hierarchy as lower public officials, i.e. considerably below the grammar school teachers. Their subsequent elevation to a position comparable with that of secondary school teachers is a phenomenon of recent decades, and is largely a result of the academic upgrading of teacher training.

6. Shaping Teacher Training, and Selection Criteria

In the Scandinavian countries, as elsewhere, the professional skills of the elementary school teacher rely upon specialized, standardized training. Although the first Seminaries or teacher training colleges were set up in the 1860s, formal training requirements for teachers' appointments were not introduced until the end of the century, first in the rural schools and then in the towns. From the 1920s onwards, the elementary school teachers were no longer responsible for the cultural and civic education solely of the poorest section of the population (as the parish clerks and schoolmasters had been); under the compulsory education legislation, the entire age-group was now taken into the care of the public school system for training as responsible citizens. It now also became the task of the school to allocate each citizen (on the basis of mutual comparison ranging across the entire age-group) to his or her own niche in the societal division of labour. Consequently, increasing attention needed to be paid to the criteria by which normal citizens are distinguished from the abnormal (see Kivinen & Kivirauma 1988a; 1988b). Michel Foucault (1980) speaks in this context of the development and application of a microtechnology of power.

The teacher training Seminaries were intended right from the start to function as centres of State enlightenment, radiating light even to the periphery. It was intended to train teachers both for elementary schools and for kindergartens. There was prolonged debate

as to whether the Seminaries ought to be residential institutions totally isolated from the surrounding world. Future teachers needed to be brought under continuous supervision, in order to ensure that they would be able to retain their moral unimpeachability in the face of a profane world. It is this background which helps to explain the anxious concern devoted to the selection and training of elementary school teachers (quite different from that for most other professions), a concern which still persists as a tradition in the training of teachers for modern society. This is an instance of the puritanism of the protestant ethic of Lutheran Scandinavia, which the elementary school teachers, as model citizens, were expected to carry forward and transmit to the next generation.

In organizational terms, the development of teacher training can be divided into three periods. The first phase, running from the 1860s to the Second World War, represents the beginnings and expansion of the teacher training Seminaries. In 1934, however, the first College of Education was founded, and this can be seen as the first step of the second phase. In the period of social reconstruction following the Second World War, the entire educational system was systematically expanded, and in response to the shortage of teachers, a national network of Colleges of Education was set up, consolidating teacher training within a two-tier system of Colleges and Seminaries.

In the third phase, in the 1970s, teacher training in its entirety was transferred into the universities, as Departments of Teacher Training within the newly established Faculties of Education, and the Seminaries and Colleges of Education ceased to function as independent institutions. Finland, with a population of five million, now trains its schoolteachers in twelve Departments of Teacher Training, affiliated to eight universities. This, the most recent phase in teacher training, represents its academic legitimation.

Throughout its 130-year history in Finland, the training of teachers has remained fairly constant in duration at four to five years, but the educational level for admission has gradually risen from virtually zero to a minimum of twelve years' schooling. Over this same period, Finland has evolved into an educational society, with nine years of

compulsory schooling, the expansion of the Senior High School (half the population now graduates, by passing the academically demanding Matriculation Examination), the universities (which now admit, to degree programs, 20 % of the population), and the vocational colleges which provide for almost the entire remaining population.

In recent times, however, the teaching profession has been faced by new challenges. The authority of educational institutions can no longer be taken for granted in a cultural marketplace affected by many forces, where the tradition-bound rigidity of school education is increasingly outgunned by the flexibility and wide range of coverage of the media. Journalists have displaced teachers as the molders of public opinion. In such a situation, the 'right to speak' or 'mastery of discourse' conferred by a teacher's training is threatened by what Bourdieu (1993) calls a 'liturgical crisis', or Habermas (1968) a 'crisis of legitimation'.

The fundamental principles for approval as an elementary school teacher have changed relatively little since the beginnings of the State's provision of teacher training. The sole pathway to a teacher's qualifications and appointment is through validated teacher training. The oath of loyalty to the State has been abolished, but the responsibility remains to display a model way of life to the fledgling citizens in the classroom and to transmit to them orthodox versions of learning, of manners, and rituals of behaviour and activity. The inculcation within the context of school institutions of a particular style, an approved worldview, continues to derive its authority from the role and status of the carefully selected, 'enlightened', officially trained teacher: a status nowadays further reinforced by the resounding academic title of Master of Education.

It has been the system in Finland, virtually from the beginning of the public school system, to appoint teachers with tenure. Confidence in the recruitment system for elementary school teachers has been so firm, that this principle has never been abandoned, despite occasional discussion of the benefits which limited-term appointments might provide. The accompanying diagram illustrates crystallizes the multiple-stage selection mechanism by means of which the civic acceptability of Finnish elementary school teachers has been guaranteed, whether in the 1860s or during the

present decade.

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Figure 1. Selection systems in Finland leading to appointment as teachers, during the 1860s and the 1990s

What this diagram reveals is the remarkable stability of the selection systems used. At all times, candidates have been examined in terms of their physical normalcy, their loyalty, their moral irreproachability, as well as certain very specific knowledge and skill qualifications (most notably: musicality, oral fluency, and drawing). Virtually as much care has been spent on developing an effective selection system as on the actual teacher-training curriculum.

In the early days, great weight was attached to factors such as a wealthy background and references of good character; subsequently, the criteria have been more wide-ranging, with a heavy emphasis on the 'objectivity' of school reports and examination results. Between the 1950s and the 1970s, on the other hand, the selectors also made use of confidential reports from high school principals on the candidates' suitability, suggesting a lack of confidence in examination-based reports alone in a period of rapid expansion. Similarly, psychologists were drafted to help in developing a battery of tests to measure candidates' attitudes, adaptability, sense of responsibility, mental balance, and behaviour; but in the 1970s, this machinery collapsed under its own unwieldiness, together with the public criticism voiced by rejected applicants. The 1970s also saw an episode when psychological tests were imported from the USA to investigate applicants' introspectivity, rigidity, and potential antisociality.

The use of information concerning applicants' personality inevitably carries with it the power and the right to criticize, to classify, and to accept or reject. The qualities

desiderated in novice teachers (their 'hidden curriculum') have remained astonishingly constant throughout the evolution of the modern school: normal in physical appearance and speech, well-behaved, morally impeccable, painstaking, punctual, adequately scholarly, and adaptable to the school world (cf. Kivinen et al. 1985; Rinne et al. 1984; Rinne 1988a; Snyder 1973; Jackson 1968, etc.). As a result of the schools' own hidden curriculum, however, the schools themselves are gradually beginning to perform the initial phase of selection, since those totally unsuited to the world of institutional education, like the 'ungifted', are semi-automatically sifted out. In this way, it became possible to abandon the older practice of probationary periods both within teacher training and on first appointment to a teacher's post.

The crucial evaluation for novice teachers, which will either open or close the door to subsequent opportunities, is the grade given for 'teaching ability'. Both in their own eyes, and those of others, this provides a permanent definition and legitimization of their value as teachers, and is largely decisive in determining the direction of their future careers: to outlying rural schools, or the high-prestige schools in the towns and cities.

The trajectory in modern society from the school desk via the college desk back to the teacher's desk offers a guarantee of adequate (but not excessive) cultural capital, a hierarchy of taste suitable for the model citizen, correct language usage, good manners, and all-round normalcy. Residential institutions, strict external discipline, and other similar forms of control, are no longer considered necessary.

The last major threshold in the history of teacher training came in the 1970s, bringing the final severance of the bonds to the old Seminary system, when the training of future teachers, even for the elementary school (now renamed the Lower Stage of the comprehensive school) was transferred to a Master of Education degree program provided by the universities. In the two-stage selection process, close attention is now paid not only to good examination results and school reports (an essential condition for short-listing) but also to applicants' cultural interests and activities; and it is still the case that those with physical disabilities, unclear speech, or dubious morals, are steered

away towards other careers.

7. Changing Models for Citizenship

The selection mechanisms for would-be teachers vividly illustrate the changing ideals of citizenship which have prevailed in the Scandinavian countries. For Finland, the emphases found there can be schematized as follows:

1850s-1920s: loyalty, diligence, moral irreproachability, piety, overall healthiness, and punctuality;
1920s-1950s: good repute, normalcy, good health, musicality;
1960s-1970s: skills in public performance, normalcy, good health, good behavior and musicality;
1980s-1990s: scholastic achievement, skills in public performance, a wide range of leisure activities, extroversion, and suitability for the profession.

In the 19th century, the crucial factor for model citizenship was the applicants' piety, reinforced by references from citizens; gradually, this lost its position as a central ideal. In the 20th century, loyalty to the State authorities has also been downstaged by other criteria.

From the Civil War of 1918 (between the socialist Reds and the victorious conservative Whites), right down to the 1950s, 'good reputation' was the crucial factor. This no longer necessarily required Church authority, but Christian chastity and moral irreproachability continued to play a central role. Physical normalcy has at all times been an essential requirement for the model citizen.

Since the 1950s, increasing emphasis has been placed on public performance skills, which are examined in the selection procedures by means of a teaching demonstration, an oral presentation, and an interview with the principal.

Since the 1970s, scholastic achievement has taken on greater significance in the selection procedures, but cultural interests and leisure activities (sports, etc.) are also an advantage for candidates. Model citizens are expected to be extrovert, athletic, and confident public speakers.

In these shifting criteria, the most significant historical break consists of the shrinking importance attached to the puritanism of the protestant ethic, and the increasing attention paid to candidates' abilities as 'performing artists': a shift of stress from vocation to competence. Naturally, the teacher's role also reflects wider changes in society, under which work is being displaced by consumer and leisure values as an organizing principle in life. Although the teacher's role continues to carry elements of model citizenship, many of the older serious expectations are clearly losing some of their significance. The selection procedures today are designed above all to ensure that these future municipal officers receive a thorough training as social engineers and competent administrators of educational technology.

8. Why?

These metamorphoses of the model citizenship projected onto the role of the teacher have of course not taken place in a social vacuum, nor, on the other hand, can they be explained simply in terms of the momentum of change within the teaching profession itself. In the quest for explications for the emergence of public education and the role of public teacher, historians of education have in some cases relied on interpretations drawn from the history of ideas. The creation of public elementary education and the role of the teacher are thus primarily linked to the advance of educational thinking, and to philanthropic ideas derived from the Enlightenment. The selfless task of the elementary school teacher has been seen as that of transmitting to the mass of the population the three Rs (Reading, wRiting and aRithmetic), together with the manner of life appropriate to civilized persons. As the human sciences have advanced, and new progressive educational ideologies have gained ground, so the older ideologies Herbartianism, Reform Education, etc. have given way to Deweyist Progressivism, the Pedagogics of Liberation, and the like.

Alternative explanations derived from the breakthrough of industrial forms of production, on the other hand, identify the emergence of the public elementary school as one element in a process designed to ensure the supply of the qualifications required for the labor market. The rhythms of time, spatial relations, and material practices

characteristic of each age will be found reflected in the school, and in this way model citizenship simultaneously traces, and paves the way for, the changing qualifications predicated by the requirements of work.

A third set of explications, again, is based on the argument that the process of industrialization and urbanization applies not only to the processes of work and the changing market, but changing patterns in life as a whole. The birth of free wage labour is linked not only to changing work processes, but more widely to the advance of the 'spirit of capitalism' and the protestant work ethic (cf. Weber 1980); and the rise of the citizens' state, with its mass political movements and new political institutions, is seen in the same context. The decline of a hierarchical society of Estates meant the shaping of a new, class society and partisan institutions in politics, and the advance of a cash-nexus economy means that even farming, in the end, is forced into becoming a profit-oriented form of business enterprise.

With the emergence of free wage labor, however, society was faced with the problem of the children of the indigent. As industry and the cities absorbed more and more population from the countryside, and as parents switched to paid employment outside the home, while labour legislation imposed stricter controls on the use of child labour, the children were effectively forced out into the streets, where they threatened to drift into vagrancy. Such problems emerged most acutely in England, but they can also be seen in Sweden and Finland (e.g. Sandin 1984; Olsson 1984). Child vagrancy, with its attendant problems of begging and delinquency, was perceived as a threat to social order. Schools were therefore needed, not only so that the teachers could instruct children in literacy and numeracy, but also to get the children off the streets and into the hands of some trustworthy institution. The notions of civic responsibility inculcated by elementary school teachers were closely related to the work ethic, and had a strongly religious tone (cf. Lundgren 1979; 1983); but towards the end of the 20th century, as the basic values of the work society lose their predominance, the schools now teach market-based models of citizenship, consumership, and leisure man.

9. 19th- and 20th-century Finnish models of citizenship

The images of citizenship presented in the following diagram have been extracted from analyses of documentary materials relating to the elementary schools in Finland, on the basis of which three periods can be identified and reconstructed. The changing model-citizen expectations predicated of teachers are taken as a key to changing conceptions of citizenship in society as a whole; in other words, citizenship models on a basis wider than that of the teacher's role effectively, the official ideology of Finnish society. (An analysis of school practices, and real outcomes, might well of course point to very different interpretations.)

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Figure 2. Historical shifts in citizenship images, as reflected in 19th- and 20th-century Finnish educational documents.

Ever since the 1860s, it has been seen as the task of the public elementary school system to turn out responsible citizens. Consequently, persistent elements in the citizenship model include the preservation of the status quo, and the fostering of a collaborative spirit of community, along with patriotism, industriousness, and respect for family values.

The decisive threshold in the citizenship models identified from an analysis of educational documentation can be dated to the conditions after the Second World War, when education was harnessed to national reconstruction, practical effective action, and democracy. The older image of the citizen moral, theistic was displaced by a more secular model. The profile of the most recent version of the model citizen begin to take shape from the 1960s onwards, with the gradual introduction of a universal nine-year education. the intimate links between education and the economy are stressed. Justice, democracy, egalitarianism and civil rights are also integral elements in the 'modern' model of citizenship, but they now become mediated through 'scientific' channels (i.e. educational psychology). The international dimension also becomes very strong, with a powerful insurge of foreign languages into the curriculum. (Eg. Rinne 1988a; 1988b.)

In a small country like Finland, these shifts in the model of citizenship, reflecting the changing will of the State, effectively penetrate the entire monopoly system of schooling and of teacher training.

Conversely, the teaching profession in the elementary schools can be seen as a crucial agent in the process of change in models for citizenship, which is why the State has always shown especial interest in the members of this profession: in their organization, in the quest for uniformity, and in tight control. The history of the profession has been characterized by a powerful drive to emulate the social status of the high school teachers, and to become part of the graduate elite. The emphasis placed upon the intellectual qualities and special qualifications of this group, and the promotion of aggressively 'scientific' versions of training for instruction, the transfer of the training into the universities, the strict control exercised over training and professional recruitment, and the statutory specification of professional qualifications in terms of one specific academic degree, are all evidence of the elementary school teachers' success in achieving professional status.

Over thirteen decades, a quasi-religious vocation to save the souls of the common people from moral depravity, backed by the blessing of the Tsar's legislation, has gradually given way to a modern corporate struggle for power, status and training. In the name of professionalism, more extensive training, and greater expertise, are expected of the teachers. For the elite among the profession of those who teach the teachers, this situation has created such generous academic establishments that there are more university professorships in Education in Finland than in all the other Scandinavian countries together.

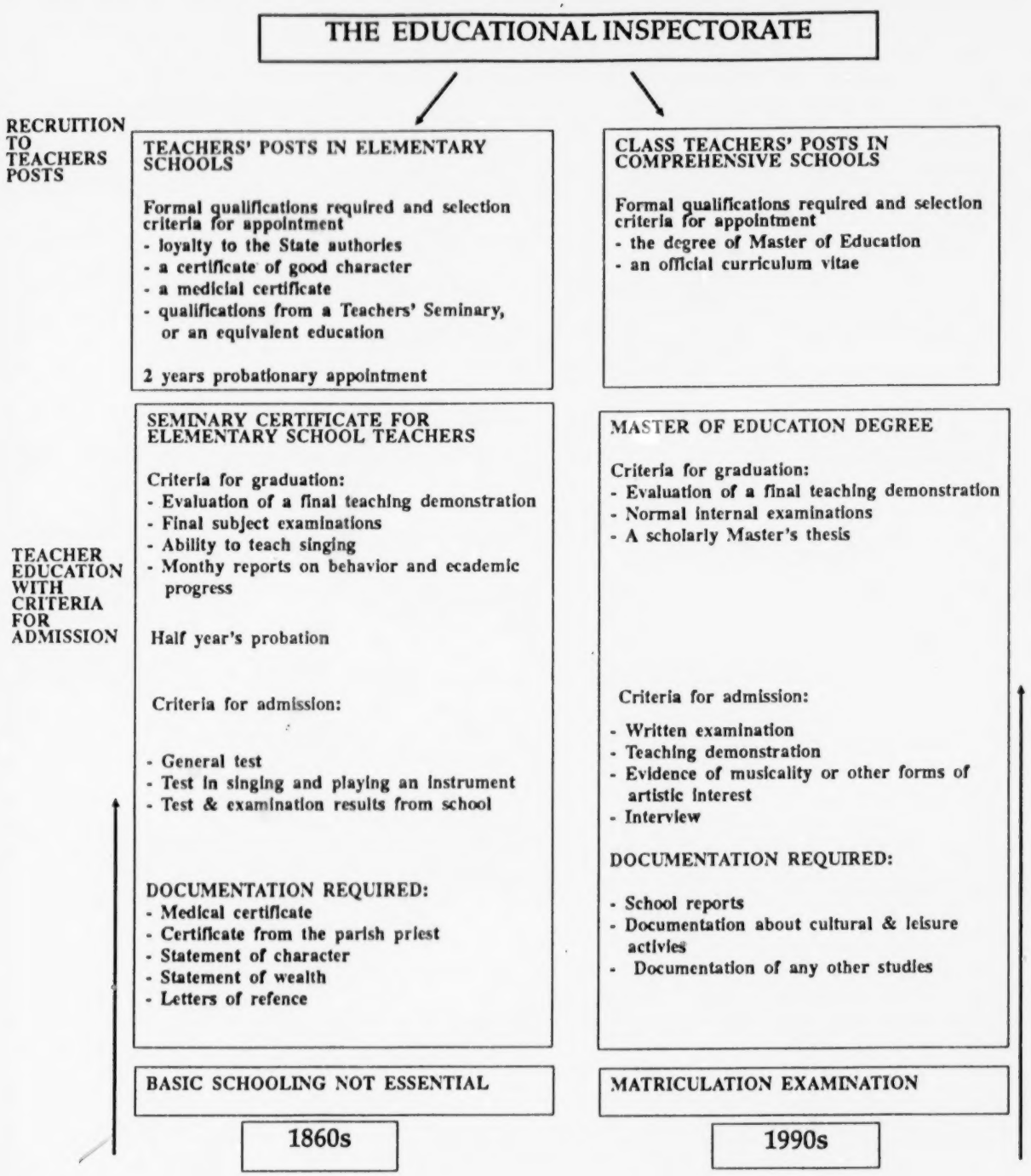
THE EDUCATIONAL INSPECTORATE
RECRUITION TO TEACHERS POSTS
TEACHERS' POSTS IN ELEMENTARY SCHOOLS
Formal qualifications required and selection criteria for appointment
- loyalty to the State authories
- a certificate of good character
- a medicial certificate
- qualifications from a Teachers' Seminary, or an equivalent education
2 years probationary appointment
CLASS TEACHERS' POSTS IN COMPREHENSIVE SCHOOLS
Formal qualifications required and selection criteria for appointment
- the degree of Master of Education
- an official curriculum vitae
TEACHER EDUCATION WITH CRITERIA FOR ADMISSION
SEMINARY CERTIFICATE FOR ELEMENTARY SCHOOL TEACHERS
Criteria for graduation:
- Evaluation of a final teaching demonstration
- Final subject examinations
- Ability to teach singing
- Monthy reports on behavior and ecademic progress
Half year's probation
Criteria for admission:
- General test
- Test in singing and playing an instrument
- Test & examination results from school
DOCUMENTATION REQUIRED:
- Medical certificate
- Certificate from the parish priest
- Statement of character
- Statement of wealth
- Letters of refence
MASTER OF EDUCATION DEGREE
Criteria for graduation:
- Evaluation of a final teaching demonstration
- Normal internal examinations
- A scholarly Master's thesis
Criteria for admission:
- Written examination
- Teaching demonstration
- Evidence of musicality or other forms of artistic interest
- Interview
DOCUMENTATION REQUIRED:
- School reports
- Documentation about cultural & leisure activies
- Documentation of any other studies
BASIC SCHOOLING NOT ESSENTIAL
MATRICULATION EXAMINATION
1860s
1990s

Figure 1.

	HARD-WORKING DEVOUT FARMER 19th & early decades of 20th century	EGALITARIAN SOCIAL DEMOCRAT early 20th century to 1960s	MERITOCRATIC INDIVIDUAL 1960s onwards
STATE SCHOOL DOCTRINE (Kivinen 1988)	patriotism responsibility Christianity morality agrarianism	democracy frugality respect for work a just division of labour	equality individual liberty justice personality
CURRICULUM CODES (Rinne 1984; 1987)	patriotism domestic affection Christianity morality respect for work agrarianism	democracy a just division of labour	equality individualism personality
ELEMENTARY TEACHER AS MODEL CITIZEN (Rinne 1986)	loyalty diligence irreproachability regularity musicality health agrarianism	good behaviour public speaking ability	public speaking ability educational succes activity in leisure pursuits extroversion
IDEAL CITIZENSHIP IN THE EDUCATIONAL PROFESSIONAL PRESS (Naumanen 1990)	submission humility Christianity morality patrionism a sense of responsibility agrarianism conscientiousness	co-operative ability tolerance democratic values activeness sociableneness critical awareness ability to learn adaptability	ability acquire information independence leisure activity personality
MORAL UPBRINGING OF SMALL CHILDREN (Tähtinen 1992)	piety obedience good manners diligence respectfulness	health hygiene cleanliness liveliness	activeness agalitarianism creativity initiative

Figure 2.

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